

KUMAN CLASSIFICATORY VERBS

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is in two parts, discussing the two types of classificatory verbs in Kuman.¹ The first part discusses the existential verbs (hereafter EV).² I will show how the Kuman EV differs from the EV in some of the other Highlands languages in its classification of the noun classes to the EV. This will be the focus of discussion in section 2. The second part of the paper will be a discussion of the second type of classificatory verb, the classificatory verb *per se*, in section 3.

According to the 1972 Census, Kuman is spoken by about 66,000 people who live in the northern part of the Simbu Province.³ Kuman is a Papuan (Non-Austronesian) language of the Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (hereafter ENGHS). The degree of relationship between the languages of the ENGHS is in general quite close, both within families and across family boundaries, and is apparent both on lexical and structural levels (Wurm 1975:470). Wurm found that because of such close relationships within the ENGHS, many cognation percentage figures lay between sixty-five percent and eighty percent.

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² The following abbreviations are used: S Subject; O Object; V Verb; EV Existential Verb; A Adjunct; PS Person; SG Singular; PL Plural; DL Dual; DEC Declarative; FUT Future; numerals 1,2,3 refer to 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons respectively; * designates an ungrammatical form; ENGHS East New Guinea Highlands Stock.

³ Maps showing Kuman in relation to the languages of the Simbu Province, Papua New Guinea, and in relation to the language families of the Highlands provinces, PNG, may be consulted in Wurm (1978).

Prior to 1948, government officers were providing information on a few individual languages in the Highlands. After 1948, as a result of pioneering language studies carried out by A. Capell, a considerable number of languages was known. A lot more of these languages have been studied recently in detail by Renck, Irwin, Lang and Wurm, to mention only a few. The studies on these languages have focused on the morphological structure and/or the syntactic functions of the verb alone (Lang 1975:1). This paper is an attempt to expand the knowledge of the Kuman classificatory verbs.

A literature review of the EV in some of the ENGHs languages is essential to an understanding of Kuman classificatory verbs. To divert our attention briefly, however, I will discuss Hoijer's classical article on the Apache verb stems, because it is one of the first studies of this kind, and also because from his observation we can draw parallels with the Highlands languages. Hoijer mentions three kinds of classificatory verbs (Hoijer 1945):

- i non-classificatory verbs,
- ii classificatory verbs, and
- iii pseudo-classificatory verbs.

These are defined as:

- i Non-classificatory verbs: "...verb stems denoting a specific type of action or behavior. Forms like ... 'he speaks so'..'he is walking'" (22).
- ii Classificatory verbs: "...verb stems which refer to a class of objects participating in an event, either as actor or goal (22)...there is no simple verb 'to give' but a number of parallel verb themes consisting of a certain sequence of prefixes plus a classificatory verb stem (13). ..These verb stems have a ... neuter intransitive denoting an object of a particular type in position or at rest,...'a mountain lies (over yonder)'..." (22).
- iii Pseudo-classificatory verbs: "...stems which stand between the two categories just outlined...active verbs denoting the movement or handling of their object class are the same as those of some other classificatory type ...an example of this...'it is bent bow-like', for when we speak of handling a 'bow-like' object"...(22).

This paper ignores non-classificatory verbs and pseudo-classificatory verbs, to concentrate on the classificatory verbs.

Very little has been mentioned of the EV in the Highlands languages. Previously, missionary linguists were concerned only with the translation of the English copula, otherwise, they have been mentioned in passing as 'verbs of state' or 'positional verbs' (Lang 1975:116). The EV suffer from lack of in-depth work. In regard to the EV,

it suffers from lack of semantic description of the abstraction in the description. In some cases (especially with the EV), the paucity of the data, the lack of referents and examples all combine to make the most elementary statements possible (i.e. There are EV present in Language X, but that is all that is known) (Lang 1975:116).

In most of the languages, the number of EV is very small. This could be because of the nature of the classificatory verb system, or because of the inadequate study on the EV.

The EV occurs with certain types of nouns. Co-occurrence with a particular EV marks the noun as belonging to a particular class.

These noun features are not indicated on the noun itself by morphological process, but the assignment of nouns to the different classes as manifested by their co-occurrence with certain EV is generally attributable to features of shape (long objects, short broad objects) and posture (standing, lying, hanging), and also features of animate versus inanimate and permanent versus non-permanent (Wurm et al 1975:303).

In the comparative data presented by Lang (1975), she stated that in these Highlands languages, all the referents of the subjects of the EV were all concrete nouns.

As already mentioned above, there is a close typological similarity between the languages of the ENGHS families, however,

the Central Family does not show specific regional typological affinity with any other particular family in the stock. This...fact is also borne out by the somewhat aberrant nature of the Central Family languages with regard to the general Trans-New Guinea Phylum feature of noun classification (Wurm 1975:474).

The Central Family contrasts in this respect with other languages of the ENGHS where these covert noun classes are dependent on animate-inanimate and permanent-non-permanent contrast rather than on features of shape and posture. The Central Family languages include Kuman, Sinasina, Medlpa, which contrast with other language families of the ENGHS, such as the West-Central Family. The languages in this family

include Huli and Enga.

Listed below are some of the EV of the above-mentioned languages; firstly, Huli and Enga and secondly, the languages of the Central Family.

Rule (1945) quoted in Lang (1975:118) outlines the three Huli EV and their typical referents:

- ka 'stand' The referents are men, boys, pigs, dogs, trees and all kinds of plants.
- beda 'sit' The referents are girls, women, still water, squirrels and insects.
- nga 'put' All inanimate objects which have simply been placed on the ground, and all creeping things which crawl on the ground, such as snakes and reptiles.

Enga has seven EV and the EV chosen depends on the habitual (i.e. existential) posture or shape as perceived by the Enga (Lang 1975:47). Listed below are some of the EV and their referents.

- katengé is elicited for referents judged to be tall, large, strong, standing or supporting; some typical referents are men, tree, sun, leg.
- lyingí is elicited for referents which are hanging or excreting outside another object. Some typical referents are moss, mushrooms, seeds.
- palengé is elicited for referents which are internal or subterranean; some typical referents are worms, liver, heart.

The Central Family contrast with the above two languages by assigning features of permanent versus non-permanent and animate versus non-animate rather than dividing noun classes according to features of shape and posture.

In the Banz language, Luzbetak (1954:159) discusses three EV which more or less mean 'he, she, it is' however, the three words may not be used indiscriminately.

mem means 'is' in a two-fold sense:

i in the sense of apposition or identity;

e.g. E dana mem

this father-my he-is

'He is my father.'

- ii in the sense of 'is present';
e.g. Pater mem mo?
'Is father home?'
- tem literally means 'he, she, it put' and also corresponds to the English 'there is'.
i At times it connotes possession;
e.g. Ku tem mo?
money there.is is.it.so?
'Do you have any money?'
- ii At other times, it means 'is present', but refers to a temporary presence of impersonal objects.
e.g. Na buk garu tem
'My book is in the house.'
- pam literally means 'exists, rests' and unlike mem and tem necessarily connotes a permanent state of being.
e.g. Ende pam mo? Na pam
another it.exists is.it.so? no it.exists
'Do you have any more? No.'

Luzbetak and McVinney (1954) stated in the Tabara dialect of Sinasina the four EV, moŋwa, yoŋwa, paŋwa and duŋwa mean more or less 'he, she, it is', but these four may not be used indiscriminately.

- moŋwa 'is' It is used with animate beings and the word for water. It is also used in the sense of apposition or identity and in the sense of 'is present'.
- yoŋwa literally means 'he, she, it put' and corresponds to the English 'there is, it is, it is lying there', the object conceived as being 'placed' somewhere. It also connotes possession, and at times means 'is present', 'it lays' referring to a temporary presence of inanimate objects.
- paŋwa literally means 'exists, rests' and unlike moŋwa and yoŋwa, it necessarily refers to and connotes a permanent state of being.
- duŋwa literally means 'he, she, it says'. This verb is used with inanimate objects and replaces yoŋwa and paŋwa.

i in place of the verb yonwa;
 Mil toro, ta dikonwa
sorrow having.given any there.is.not
'Sorry we don't have any.'

ii in place of the verb panwa;
 Gaba dikenau ro, God monwa
ground when.it.was.not God He.was
'God existed before the world was made.'

Nilles (1969) discussed briefly the Kuman EV. All the words mean 'he, she, it is'.

molkwa is used as a rule for living persons, things or objects.

panywa is used as a rule for persons, things or objects in a state of rest or not in motion.

yongwa is used as a rule for things not moving and remaining permanently in the same place. It also has the meaning of putting, lying, and at rest.

Wurm (1975) stated that that languages of the Central Family classify the noun classes according to the features of permanent versus non-permanent and animate versus inanimate.

I have presented briefly above the semantics of the EV in some of the Highlands languages. Due to lack of available data on a lot of the Highlands languages, I have not been able to present a wider review on the other languages of the ENGHS.

The features of animate-inanimate and permanent-non-permanent contrast and features of shape and posture, however, are common throughout the languages of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

2.1 THE EV IN KUMAN

This section focuses on the semantics of the EV in Kuman. I will firstly discuss the verb form, the meaning, and thirdly the different noun classes and their relationship with the EV.

Landar (1965) quoted in Lang (1975:41) noted that verbs of this type in Navaho are often translated as 'it's lying there' or 'it's

setting (sic) there'.

Hence one might translate *tsi si* (in Navaho) as 'a rock (as a round object) has taken a position', or 'a rock is sitting here', or simply 'there's a rock' (Lang 1975:41).

The EV of Kuman, *yongwa*, *molkwa*, and *pangwa* are similar to the Navaho EV, which are often translated simply as 'there is...'.⁴

Komboglo *yongwa*.

stone be 'There is (a) stone.'

Komboglo *pangwa*.

stone be 'There is (a) stone.'

Komboglo *molkwa*.

stone be 'There are stones.'

However, Kuman doesn't classify these nouns according to shape, (as in a round object), and secondly, *pangwa* and *molkwa* have other specific meanings. These will be discussed in 2.4.

2.2 KUMAN VERB MORPHOLOGY

Morphologically, the verb in Kuman is more complex than any other part of speech. I will not discuss in detail the morphology of Kuman verbs, as Trefry (1969) has discussed this adequately.

Verbs in Kuman are medial⁴ or final. In this article, we are only concerned with the final verb. Trefry's analysis of the final verb affixes is as follows:

fv = nuc:va ± neg:neg ± asp:imp + nu/pers ± int:int + dec
 The final verb form consists of an obligatory nuclear verb slot filled by a verb stem, an optional negative slot filled by a negative affix, an optional aspect slot filled by an imperfect aspect suffix, an obligatory number/person slot filled by a number/person suffix, an optional intensifier slot filled by an intensifier suffix, and an obligatory declarative slot filled by a declarative suffix (Trefry 1969:63).

Kuman verbs show a great many morphophonemic changes in the root.⁵ For example, the verb root *mog|* 'to stay' in the non-future is as follows:

Na *molka*.⁶

I stay-1-PS-SG-DEC

'I stay.'

(footnotes overleaf)

No munga

we stay.1.PS.PL.DEC

'We stay.'

Ye miurika

they stay.3.PS.PL.DL.DEC

'They two stay.'

and again in the future:

Na moralka

I stay.FUT.1.PS.SG.DEC

'I will stay.'

No moramenga

we stay.FUT.1.PS.PL.DEC

'We will stay.'

No morambulka

we stay.FUT.1.PS.PL.DL.DEC

'We two will stay.'

Because of these various morphophonemic changes in the Kuman verb root, I will only use the third person singular non-future form. I will also use this form rather than the root alone in referring to the Kuman verbs. Thus, *molkwa*, 'he, she, it stayed' will be used to illustrate the verb root *mol*.

2.3 NON-EV USAGES

Yongwa, *molkwa* and *pangwa* may also function as non-EV.

- ¹ Medial verb forms depend in their occurrence on at least two clauses and may occupy the verb slot of all but the last clause of a sentence. The marking on a medial verb varies depending on whether its subject is the same or different from the subject of the following verb.
- ² Some of the verbs are also suppletive. These suppletive verb forms are also irregular.

Na endwendi winga

I yesterday come PT.1.PS.SG.DEC

'I came yesterday.'

Ene endwendi unga

you yesterday come.PT.2.PS.SG.DEC

'You came yesterday.'

Ye endwendi unywa

he yesterday come PT.3.PS.SG.DEC

'He came yesterday.'

Na endwendi einga

I yesterday go PT 1.PS.SG.DEC

'I went yesterday.'

Ye endwendi onywa

she yesterday go PT.3.PS.SG.DEC

'She went yesterday.'

- ³ *gl* is written as 'l' before *k*.

2.3.1. YONWA

Yonwa may only function as a non-EV when the referent of the subject is human; in this case, it has the meaning 'to put' or 'to place'.

Yagl ta buglo yonwa imbo
man a stick put.3.PS.SG.DEC there
 'A man put a stick there.'

2.3.2 MOKWA

Mokwa may only function as a non-EV when the referent of the subject is human; in this case, the meaning is 'to stay'. However, it is not the present-continuous-verb form used.

Ye morambuga
he stay.FUT.3.PS.SG.DEC
 'He will stay.'

2.3.3 PANWA

Panwa may also function as a non-EV when the referent of the subject is human or animal. The general meaning here is 'sleeping'. In this case, panwa is most likely to be the abbreviated form of the classificatory verb ugi panwa 'sleep'.

Ambai ta panwa (= Ambai ta ugi panwa)
girl a sleep.3.PS.SG.DEC
 'A girl is sleeping.'
 Bugla ta panwa (= Bugla ta ugi panwa)
pig a sleep.3.PS.SG.DEC
 'A pig is sleeping.'

2.4 THE MEANING OF THE EV

The EV has the meaning of the most common copula 'be', which expresses the notion of existence. There are also existential sentences which have the meaning of 'have'. In Kuman, this mainly refers to possession. All words mean 'he, she, it is'.

Na angra swara ta mokwa
I brother one a be
 'I have only one brother.'

2.5 THE EV USAGES

In this section, I will discuss briefly the meanings and uses of the EV.

2.5.1. YONGWA

Yongwa is used as a rule with subjects whose referents are inanimate. The general meaning of yongwa is 'it is' and it can only co-occur with inanimate subjects.

Kaya-mogona yongwa

food be

'There is food.'

Bugla yongwa

pork be

'There is pork.'

Di ta yongwa

axe a be

'There is an axe.'

Yongwa cannot co-occur with corpses:

*Yomba yongwa

man be

2.5.2 MOLKWA

Molkwa can co-occur with subjects whose referents are animate and inanimate. When molkwa co-occurs with subjects whose referents are human or animal, the general meaning is 'the subject exists' or 'there is...(a dog)'. These referents have to be animate.

Yagl ta molkwa

man a be

'There is a man.'

Togei ta molkwa

snake a be

'There is a snake.'

When co-occurring with subjects whose referents are not human, the general meaning is 'a lot of' or 'some'. When referring to plants, they can be either animate (in their natural state of existence), or inanimate (removed from their natural state of existence).

Ende mōngo ende mina mōlkwa

tree nut tree on be

'There are nuts on the tree.'

Ende mōngo sin mina mōlkwa

tree nut tin in be

'There are nuts in the tin.'

When co-occurring with inanimate animals, the general meaning applies:

Bugla kambe youndo mina mōlkwa

pork banana leaf on be

'There is some pork on the banana leaf.'

and is the same when co-occurring with other inanimate objects:

Minman stua mina mōlkwa

mirror store in be

'There are a lot of mirrors in the store.'

2.5.3 PAŃGWA

Pangwa can co-occur with animate (non-human and non-animal) and inanimate (including dead animals and plants), however, the implication is that the referents are in a specific place.

Usi gagl mina pangwa

cigarette bag in be

'There are cigarettes in the bag.'

Tainde endile pangwa

chilli forest be

'There are chillies in the forest.'

Bugla pelet mina pangwa

pork plate on be

'There is pork on the plate.'

Yongwa contrasts with mōlkwa and pangwa as it may only co-occur with inanimate subjects. Mōlkwa and pangwa can co-occur with animate and inanimate subjects, however mōlkwa, when co-occurring with referents of subjects that are non-human, has the additional specific meaning of 'a lot of' or 'some', while referents of pangwa imply a specific location. There is also overlap with the meaning of yongwa, mōlkwa and pangwa. In 2.6 I will discuss the overlapping of yongwa, mōlkwa and pangwa as EV.

2.6 THE EV AND NOUN CLASSES

The system that I have proposed here is not perfect, as there are some exceptions, whereby noun classes belonging to a particular class do not follow the general rules of that class, or some nouns of a particular class may co-occur with certain EV, while others of the same class cannot occur with these EV.

2.6.1 BODY PARTS

Nouns of this class are inalienable, as is shown by the possessive suffixes attached to the noun. The majority of body part nouns only co-occur with pangwa, and this implies animateness.

Kat-na pangwa
foot-my be
 'My feet are 'I have feet.'

Kina-n pangwa
ear-your be
 'Your ears are 'You have ears.'

Guma-Ø pangwa
nose-his be
 'His nose is 'He has a nose.'

Am-o pangwa
breast-her be
 'Her breast are 'She has breasts.'

Bigl-na pangwa
thigh-my be
 'My thighs are 'I have thighs.'

Gumugl-o pangwa
eyes-his be
 'His eyes are 'He has eyes.'

However, there are a few nouns in this class which may co-occur with pangwa, molkwa and yongwa. When co-occurring with pangwa, and molkwa, the referents of these subjects imply animateness, whereas when co-occurring with yongwa, imply inanimateness. Even though pangwa and molkwa have basically the same meaning, molkwa has certain implications. These implications are shown in brackets below. A sentence containing

pangwa is more likely to be a general statement.

Bit-na yuŋgu pangwa

head-my hair be

'My hair is 'I have hair.'

Bit-na yuŋgu molkwa

head-my hair be

'My hair is 'I have hair.' ('I am not bald')

Bit-na yuŋgu yongwa

head-my hair be

'My hair is 'That is my hair.'

Singi-ye pangwa

tooth-her be

'Her teeth are 'She has teeth.'

Singi-ye molkwa

tooth-her be

'Her teeth are 'She has teeth.' ('She is not toothless.')

Singi-ye yongwa

tooth-her be

'Her teeth are 'Those are her teeth.'

Oŋgu-n guire pangwa

hand-your fingernail be

'Your fingernails are 'You have fingernails.'

Oŋgu-n guire molkwa

hand-your fingernail be

'Your fingernails are 'You have fingernails.'

('Your fingernails are long.')

Oŋgu-n guire yongwa

hand-your fingernail be

'Your fingernails are 'Those are your fingernails.'

2.6.2. HUMANS

In this class, I will discuss human nouns, which includes kin terms and pronouns. In this class, they may only co-occur with molkwa because when co-occurring with pangwa and yongwa, a non-EV usage is implied.

Yagl ta molkwa
 man a be
 'There is a man.'
 Ye molkwa
 he be
 'He is there.'

Kin terms also belong to the inalienable class, as is shown by the possessive suffix on the noun.

Aŋgr-a molkwa
 brother-my be
 'My brother is 'My brother is there.'
 Ambat-n molkwa
 sister-your be
 'Your sister is 'Your sister is there.'
 Yagl awa-na molka
 man grandfather-my be
 'My grandfather is 'My grandfather is there.'

2.6.3 ANIMALS

Animals may co-occur with yongwa and molkwa. The former implies inanimateness while the latter implies animateness. When pangwa co-occurs with inanimate animals, the implication is that the subject is in a specific place, because when co-occurring with animate animals, a non-EV usage is implied.

Bugla ta molkwa
 pig a be
 'There is a pig.'
 Bugla yongwa
 pork be
 'There is pork.'
 Bugla sin pangwa
 pork pot be
 'There is pork in the pot.'
 Kondwagle ta molkwa
 chicken a be
 'There is a chicken.'

Kondwagle ta yongwa

chicken a be

'There is a (dead) chicken.'

Kondwagle sin pangwa

chicken pot be

'There is chicken (meat) in the pot.'

2.6.4. PLANTS

Plants may co-occur with yongwa, molkwa and pangwa. Yongwa can only co-occur with dead plants, whereas molkwa and pangwa can co-occur with animate and inanimate plants. Molkwa refers to quantity, whereas the referents of pangwa have to be in a specific place.

Kambe youndo yongwa

banana leaf be

'There are banana leaves.'

Kambe youndo yungugl molkwa

banana leaf house be

'There are banana leaves in the house.'

Kambe youndo ende mina molkwa

banana leaf tree on be

'There are banana leaves on the (banana) tree.'

Kambe youndo mondon pangwa

banana leaf wooden-pot be

'There are banana leaves in the wooden pot.'

Kambe youndo ende mina pangwa

banana leaf tree on be

'There are banana leaves on the (banana) tree.'

Ende yongwa

tree be

'There is firewood.'

Ende endile molkwa

tree forest be

'There are a lot of trees in the forest.'

Ende yungugl molkwa

tree house be

'There is firewood in the house.'

Ende endile pangwa

tree forest be

'There are trees in the forest.'

Ende donga pangwa

tree fire be

'There is wood on the fire.'

2.6.5. OTHER

This is a residual class used to describe any nouns that do not belong to the noun classes discussed previously. These nouns are largely inanimate. When co-occurring with *molkwa*, the general meaning is 'there is a lot of' or 'there is some'; with *pangwa*, the referents have to be in a specific place, and with *yongwa*, it is a more general statement of 'There is...'.
 Mundi *yongwa*
 salt be
 'There is salt.'
 Mundi *molkwa*
 salt be
 'There is a lot of salt.'
 Mundi *kaya-mogona pangwa*
 salt food be
 'There is salt in the food.'
 Gagl-*kugla ta yongwa*
 fur hat a be
 'There is a fur hat.'
 Gagl-*kugla molkwa*
 fur hat be
 'There are a lot of fur hats.'
 Gagl-*kugla bit-na mina pangwa*
 fur hat head-my on be
 'There is a fur hat on my head.'
 Bugla *kane yongwa*
 pig rope be
 'There is a pig's rope.'

Bugla kane molkwa

pig rope be

'There are a lot of pigs' ropes.'

Bugla kane bugla mina pangwa

pig rope pig on be

'There is a rope on the pig.'

Minge dendina yongwa

shell armllet be

'There is a shell armllet.'

Minge dendina molkwa

shell armllet be

'There are a lot of shell armllets.'

Minge dendina ongu-n pangwa

shell armllet hand-your be

'There is a shell armllet on your hand.'

2.6.6. LOAN ITEMS

Loan items are treated in the same manner as the noun classes discussed above.

Sop yongwa

soap be

'There is soap.'

Sop molkwa

soap be

'There is a lot of soap.'

Sop nangi-n pangwa

soap skin-your be

'There is soap on your skin.'

Kaugl-muglo yongwa

ants-eggs (rice) be

'There is rice.'

Kaugl-muglo pangwa

ants-eggs (rice) be

'There is a lot of rice.'

Kaugl-muglo gagle pangwa

ants-eggs (rice) bag be

'There is rice in the bag.'

Kapis yongwa

cabbage be

'There is cabbage.'

Kapis molkwa

cabbage be

'There are a lot of cabbages.'

Kapis gaten pangwa

cabbage garden be

'There are cabbages in the garden.'

Lok yongwa

lock be

'There is a lock.'

Lok molkwa

lock be

'There are a lot of locks.'

Lok dua pangwa

lock door be

'There is a lock on the door.'

2.6.7 EXCEPTIONS

There are few exceptions in Kuman. Most body parts co-occur with pangwa, however some body parts may co-occur with yongwa, molkwa and pangwa. The exception arises when 'hand', 'feet' and 'thighs' co-occur with yongwa also. The normal EV used is pangwa.

Ongu-na pangwa

hand-my be

'My hands are 'I have hands.'

Kat-na pangwa

feet-my be

'My feet are 'I have feet.'

However:

Ongu-na yongwa

hand-my be

'My hands are 'My hands are there.'

Kat-na yongwa

feet-my be

'My feet are 'My feet are there.'

These two body parts are viewed as being somewhat independent of the rest of the body, therefore may co-occur with yongwa.

Secondly, most animals may co-occur only with yongwa and molkwa, as when co-occurring as subjects of the EV pangwa, the non-EV sense (i.e. 'sleeping') is the common interpretation. The exception arises when some animals that occur as subjects of pangwa, the interpretation is of the EV type.

Agl tolsi pangwa

dog fleas be

'The dog's fleas are 'The dog has fleas.'

Na numan pangwa

I lice be

'My lice are 'I have lice.'

The above nouns co-occur with pangwa because they are viewed as being in their natural place of existence.

2.7 CONCLUSION

I have discussed above the uses and semantics of the Kuman EV. There is a lot of overlap in the uses of the EV and noun classes. In the examples above, I have only been able to show that yongwa can only co-occur with subjects whose referents are inanimate. Pangwa and molkwa may also co-occur with subjects whose referents are either animate or inanimate, however when molkwa co-occurs with subjects whose referents are non-human or non-animal, it refers to quantity, whereas with pangwa, referents are in a specific place. Wurm (Wurm et al. 1975: 264) stated that in the

languages of the Central Family of the ENGHS, the classes appear to be determined by features of animate versus inanimate and permanent versus non-permanent.

Nilles (1969) also stated that yongwa is used for things remaining permanently in the same place. I agree with Wurm's discussion of the noun classes being determined by features of animate versus inanimate, as I have shown in the above examples. I disagree with Wurm's discussion of the noun classes based on features of permanent versus non-permanent. I also disagree with Nilles because yongwa may also refer to objects that are semi-permanent, and also to a temporary presence of objects.

Listed below are some permanent nouns that co-occur with molkwa, yongwa and pangwa.

Magan molkwa

land be

'There is a lot of land.'

Magan yongwa

land be

'There is land.'

Magan pangwa

land be

'There is land.'

Yungu molkwa

house be

'There are a lot of houses.'

Yungu yongwa

house be

'There is a house.'

Yungu pangwa

house be

'There is a house.'

There are also non-permanent nouns that may occur with the EV.

Titombugan pangwa

rainbow be

'There is a rainbow.'

Kamkua pangwa

cloud be

'There are clouds.'

Kamkua molkwa

cloud be

'There are a lot of clouds.'

Kugl pangwa

star be

'There are stars.'

There are no definite criteria that are used in assigning the noun classes. I feel that the assignment of noun classes, in some are dependent on the semantics of the EV, and not the features assigned to the noun classes.

Lang (1975) stated in her comparative data on some of the Highlands languages that the referents available for the EV given, none were (-concrete) nouns. Although Lang does not specifically give examples in Kuman, she discusses the Sinasina language. Because the words given in Sinasina are cognate with the words in Kuman, and more importantly, because the two languages are closely related, I presume Lang would apply it to Kuman also. I disagree with her, because I have found that there are some non-concrete nouns that co-occur with some of the Kuman EV.

No yungumugl kindan pangwa

we house hunger be

'There is hunger in our house.'

Gere kinde ponde pangwa

Gere bad big be

'There is an epidemic at Gere.'

I agree with most of what Nilles (1969) stated about the Kuman EV, and have shown that parts of his definition do not apply to the Kuman EV because when some nouns co-occur with these EV, the common interpretation is of a non-EV type.

I believe that the present analysis is an improvement on the previous work done by Nilles (1969), Lang (1975) and Wurm (1975), as I have been able to show other additional meanings assigned to the EV. I have also shown that Kuman does not strictly divide the noun classes according to features of permanent-non-permanent contrast, but does so with the animate-inanimate contrast. This contradicts the generalisation that languages of the Central Family of the ENGHS assign features of permanent-non-permanent contrast.

3.1 KUMAN PREDICATIONS

In the previous sections, I discussed the first type of classificatory verb. This section will deal with the second type of classificatory verb. These types of verbs have been referred to as 'auxiliary verbs', 'nuclear verbs', 'periphrastic verbs', 'primary verbs' and 'predications'. I will refer to them as predications in this section. Predications are of this type of verb:

Ambai ba bogl bolkwa
 girl moon with cut
 'The girl is menstruating.'

Renck (1975:58) says that these predications are

compound words which consist of a complex of two words, a non-inflected word termed adjunct which carries the meaning of the compound and a fully inflected verb which in many cases, loses its original meaning and becomes the mere carrier of the verbal function of the compound.

Young (1964:78) defines these as

a verb complex consisting of a free form word of specific verbal implication in a close knit sequence with a fully inflected nuclear verb, losing its basic meaning in almost every instance, becomes the nucleus for a great range of peripherals, the peripheral bearing the main semantic load for one complex, and the verb a mainly functional one.

There is only a small number of verbs which occur again and again, each time with a different meaning, depending on the combination found in them. In Kalam, Pawley (1975) says that ninety percent of events in Kalam fall into twenty-five categories marked by these highly recurrent verbs. There are no verb stems corresponding semantically to 'see', 'hear', or 'think', but are expressed by a complex construction comprising a verb and one or more adjuncts. Kuman does not have a variety of verbs with a specific meaning, but these

different meanings are expressed with idiomatic verbal expressions in which verbs, nouns, or any other parts of speech are used with the auxiliary verbs (Nilles 1969: 264).

3.2 THE ADJUNCT

A predication contains an adjunct which co-occurs with a pro-verb. These adjuncts have a specific meaning. The adjunct functions to modify the general meaning of the pro-verb into a specific action. They may be nouns or adjectives, or may be limited in the occurrence to the verb structure (Renck 1975:83). The auxiliary verb usually follows an adjunct, and these, which are quite often nouns or adjectives are neither the subject nor object. Many of the words which occur as adjuncts are so closely attached to the predication that they do not occur elsewhere. This is a common feature of predications in the Highlands languages.

In Kuman, the adjunct and the object are non-inflected words. Verbs are inflected depending on the subject.

Ye kinde sungwa
 he bad hit.3.PS.SG.DEC
 'He is sick.'
 Ye kinde singwa
 they bad hit.3.PS.PL.DEC
 'They are sick.'

In a simple sentence, there are two possible word orders:

- i Subject-object-verb; and
 ii Object-subject-verb.
- i S O V
 Na yagl ta kanninga
 I man a see.1.PS.SG.DEC
 'I see a man.'
- ii O S V
 Yagl ta na kanninga
 man a I see.1.PS.SG.DEC
 'I see a man.'

It is impossible to change the position of an adjunct, which must occur immediately before the verb.

S A V
 Ye kinde sungwa
 he bad hit.3.PS.SG.DEC
 'He is sick.'

A S V

*Kinde ye sungwa

Modifiers are optional with the subject and object.

S O V

Gak kembra ta agl sungwa

child small a dog hit.3.PS.SG.DEC

'A small child hit the dog.'

S O V

Ye yagl olto ta kanungwa

she man tall a see.3.PS.SG.DEC

'She saw a tall man.'

The majority of adjuncts may co-occur with modifiers:

Yagl yombuglo ponde erukwa

man strength big make.3.PS.SG.DEC

'The man is very strong.'

Gak kinde kaimane sungwa

child bad 'true' hit 3.PS.SG.DEC

'The child is very sick.'

There are exceptions where adjunct cannot co-occur with modifiers;

*Yagl ta embi-ye atndange kinde sungwa.

Both the subject and object can change positions, the subject being in accord with the verb. The adjunct cannot occur elsewhere except immediately before the verb, therefore the adjunct in a classificatory verb is neither subject nor object.

Adjuncts in Kuman normally occur in intransitive sentences.

S V

Bugla kinde sungwa

pig bad hit.3.PS.SG.DEC

'The pig is sick.'

S V

Kag-le bormai sungwa

foot-his blood hit.3.PS.SG.DEC

'His foot is bleeding.'

However, there are some cases where adjuncts may also occur in transitive sentences.

S O V
 Ambu kaya-mogona yumbu sungwa
 woman food 'distribute' hit.3.PS.SG.DEC
 'The woman distributed the food.'

S O V
 Yagl ta embi-ye atndange sungwa
 man a wife-his slap hit.3.PS.SG.DEC
 'A man slapped his wife.'

3.3 KUMAN PREDICATIONS

There has been very little discussion on the predications in Kuman. Listed below are the most frequent occurring predications of Kuman, in the third person singular declarative form.

dongwa 'to burn'
 dungwa 'to say, to state'
 erukwa 'to make'
 golkwa 'to die'
 prukwa 'to hear'
 sungwa 'to strike, to hit'
 tongwa 'to give'

Below, I will list some of the predications to show how the verbs differ in meaning when co-occurring with the different adjuncts. These will be in the third person singular non-future declarative form.

sungwa 'to hit, to strike'
 Kaus sungwa
 full strike
 'It is full.'
 Kan tonggoma sungwa
 rope knot hit
 'The rope is knotted.'
 Guigl sungwa
 pain hit
 'It is paining; It hurts.'

Agl de-kumbuno suŋgwa

dog excreta-smell hit

'The dog farted.'

Kam suŋgwa

rain hit

'It is raining.'

Inge suŋgwa

smoke hit

'It is smoky.'

Ambu kaya-mogona magai suŋgwa

woman food 'gather' hit

'The woman is gathering the food.'

Ande suŋgwa

sun hit

'The sun is shining.'

Ma-m mangagl suŋgwa

mother-his curse hit

'His mother cursed him.'

erukwa 'to make'

Yagl toro erukwa

man stare make

'The man is staring.'

Gak kai erukwa

child 'cry' make

'The child is crying.'

Konbo gegebage erukwa

road windy make

'The road is windy.'

Magan gamba kumbuno erukwa

ground mud smell make

'The mud stinks; The mud smells.'

Kuno erukwa

fit make

'It fits; It is full.'

tongwa 'to give'

Bugl tongwa

urine give

'He is urinating.'

De tongwa

excreta give

'She is excreting.'

Ye na ka tongwa

he I 'talk' give

'He is cross with me.'

Yagl mambuno ka kinde tongwa

man old 'talk' bad give

'The old man swore (at someone).'

dungwa 'to say, to state'

Ye mane dungwa

he 'no' say

'He prohibits it; He forbids it.'

Ambai giglange dungwa

girl song say

'The girl is singing.'

Yagl agle dungwa

man 'shout' say

'The man is shouting.'

golkwa 'to die'

Ye kindan golkwa

he hunger die

'He is hungry.'

Ye kundugl golkwa

she fear die

'She is frightened.'

Ye nigl golkwa

he water die

'He is thirsty.'

Ye a gai golkwa

she space die

'She is shy.'

Ye ug| golkwa

he sleep die

'He is sleepy.'

I have shown in the examples above the recurrence of a small number of verbs, each time with a different meaning depending on the co-occurring adjunct. These so-called auxiliary verbs are not auxiliary in the true sense, as they are often not auxiliary to another verb, but the main verb in the sentence. They do not co-occur with other verbs, but with adjuncts. Most adjuncts can occur elsewhere independently, but there are some adjuncts that cannot occur independently elsewhere except immediately before a verb. These adjuncts, when co-occurring with the verb are part of the verb rather than being another part of speech.

4. CONCLUSION

The focus of this paper has been on the first type of classificatory verb, the EV. Due to the paucity of data on other languages belonging to the West-Central or East-Central Families, I was unable to present a more detailed literature review of EV in other languages belonging to the ENGHS.

In section 2, I discussed the Kuman EV. Kuman assigns features of animate-inanimate contrast to the EV, but contradicts the generalisation that languages of the Central Family assign features of permanent-non-permanent contrast to the EV. All three EV could occur with permanent and non-permanent nouns, and do not have any specific distinctions when assigning features of nouns to the EV.

In section 3, I discussed the second type of Kuman classificatory verb, the classificatory verb *per se*. In both types of classificatory verbs there is a small number of exceptions which contradict the rules of the main system. More research needs to be done therefore, not only in Kuman, but also in other languages of the Central Family, to prove or disprove the lexical features claimed for the EV by previous linguists.

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